









Anarchism is a particularly difficult subject on which to write a useful bibliography. For this reason it is all the more in need of one. Also, this bibliography is intended to be used and I have tried to keep it from becoming too academic while still giving as full and accurate detail as possible.

Anarchism is a difficult subject for three main reasons:

1. There are so many different interpretations of what anarchism is (including some which are quite contradictory) that it is difficult to decide what aspects should or should not be covered in a bibliography.
2. The literature is so widely scattered and variable in quality. Some excellent material on anarchism occurs in the most unlikely places and conversely much that you would expect to be better is not.
3. Finally, the very volume at which anarchist literature and comment on the anarchist movement appears makes any attempt at a "complete" bibliography out of date before it appears. Also, the circumstances in which much anarchist literature appears makes it virtually impossible to know of every pamphlet that is published.

So this bibliography is selective as a matter of necessity. I have also had to allow a certain amount of personal preference to determine what is listed. However, I have tried not to let this detract from the widest coverage of the subject possible.

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*Ross Laird,  
June, 1973*



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## 1. ANARCHISM AS A HISTORICAL IDEA

In tracing the historical roots of anarchism the writings of Lao Tzu, Zeno and others have been given as early examples of anarchist theory expressed as a philosophical idea. See D. Ferraro "Anarchism in Greek Philosophy" in *Anarchy* 45:321-325 November 1964 for comment on one facet of this subject. However, in as much as anarchism is a doctrine of action as well as a philosophical idea it is not until the medieval period (between the 11th & 16th centuries) that the first real manifestations of anarchist movements for which there are any detailed studies appear. The essentially millenarian movements of this time are covered very well in Norman Cohn's "The Pursuit of the Millenium: revolutionary millenarians and mystical anarchists of the middle ages" (Paladin, 1970).

Of the many writers with anarchistic tendencies from this period up until the 18th century the most interesting is Etienne de la Boetie. For information on him see Nicolas Walter's introduction to "Etienne de la Boetie's Discourse on Voluntary Servitude" in *Anarchy* 63:129-137, May 1966.

William Godwin is commonly accepted as the first recognizably anarchist writer. He wrote "An inquiry concerning political justice in 1793. This was republished by the University of Toronto Press in 1946 (3 volumes). An extract from this work is in M.S. Shatz "The Essential Works of Anarchism" (Bantam 1971) pp. 5-41. Godwin's other major work was "On Law". A good study of Godwin from the anarchist point of view has been written by George Woodcock.

## 2. ANARCHISM AS HISTORY

There is no good history of anarchism in English. George Woodcock's "Anarchism" (Penguin 1964) is probably the best known but this rather pessimistic book needs to be balanced against his own qualifications published as "Anarchism Revisited" in *Commentary* 46:54-60, August 1968 and 46:20ff. November 1968. T.D. Drake-Brockmans "Anarchism on the Scrap Heap of History?" in *A.N.U. Historical Journal* 8:10-18, November 1971 attempts to refute a number of basic assumptions Woodcock makes in his original book.



Other, even less satisfying, attempts at writing the history of anarchism are:

James Joll: "The Anarchists" (University Paperbacks, 1964)

G.D.H. Cole: "Anarchists and Anarchist-Communists" in "A History of Socialist Thought". Vol. 2 pp. 315-360.

Most other "histories" are not even worth reading. Some comments on this situation are made by Vincent Richards in "Anarchism and the Historians" in Anarchy 46:357-367. Dec. 1964.

Roderick Keward's "The Anarchists: The Men who shocked an era" (Library of the Twentieth Century. 1971) is as superficial as its sub-title suggests. However, it does contain an excellent collection of illustrations, many of which actually relate to Anarchism.

### 3. ANARCHISM AS THEORY

The best study of anarchism as theory is Daniel Guerin's "Anarchism: from theory to practice" (Monthly Review Press. 1970).

Other recent writings on anarchism with reference to its theoretical content which are worth reading are:

William O. Reichert: "Anarchism, freedom and power", first published in Ethics 79:139-149, January 1969 and reprinted in Anarchy 111:129-142, May 1970.

Nicholas Walter: "About Anarchism" (Freedom Press, 1971)

A.R. Giles-Peters: "Marxism and Anarchism" in Australian Left Review 34:16-17, March 1972.

Above all, it must be remembered that the basic theoretical elements of anarchism received their classic statements in the writings of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Goldman, Malatesta, et al. See the section on the classic writings of anarchism for details of books by them which are currently available. One other classic of anarchist theory which must be singled out is Alexander Berkman's "What is Communist Anarchism?" (Dover Books, 1972) a partial version of which is published by Freedom Press as "A.B.C. of Anarchism".

See also the following on particular aspects of anarchist theory:

Herbert Read: "Anarchy and Order" (Beacon Press 1971)

Antony Fleming: "Anarchism and Revolution" in Anarchy 106:360-376, December 1969.



Murray Bookchin: "Anarchy and Organization" (Friends of Malatesta, 1970).

Roel van Duyn: "Message of a wise kabouter" (Duckworth 1972).

Colin Ward: "Anarchism as a Theory of Organization" in Krimmerman & Perry (eds.) "Patterns of Anarchy" (Anchor, 1966) pp. 386-396.

D. Novak: "The Place of Anarchism in the History of Political thought" in Review of Politics 20:307-329, July 1958.

Stuart Christie & Albert Meltzer: "The Floodgates of Anarchy" (Sphere Books 1972).

Ronald Sampson: "The Anarchist Basis of Pacifism" (Peace Pledge Union, 1970).

William O. Reichert: "Towards a new understanding of Anarchism" in Western Political Quarterly 20(4):856-865. Decem. 1967)

M. Kofman: "The Reaction of two anarchists to nationalism" in Labor History 14:34-35. 1968.

Laurens Otter: "Determinism and utopianism in the Anarchist tradition" in Anarchy 68:305-318. October 1966.





#### 4. ANARCHISM AS A WAY OF LIFE

Anarchism is (or should be) the perfect example of how a political ideology can also be a philosophical and practice lifestyle. Therefore, the life stories of its leading practitioners are more than usually relevant to any understanding of anarchism.

1 The outstanding example of this is Emma Goldman's "Living my life" (Dover Books, 1970) in 2 volumes.

Other first-hand accounts that convey something of the anarchist life-style are:

Alexander Berkman: "Prison memoirs of an anarchist" (Schocken Books, 1970.)

Peter Kropotkin: "Memoirs of a revolutionist" (Dover Books, 1971).

Rudolph Rocker: "The London Years" (Robert Anscombe & Co., 1956). an extract from which is in M.S. Shatz: "The essential writings of anarchism" (Bantam, 1971) pp. 394-422.

Victor Serge: "Memoirs of a revolutionary 1901-1941" (Oxford Paperbacks, 1967) particularly the first chapters.

Ammon Hennacy: "The autobiography of a catholic anarchist" (Catholic Worker Books, 1954)

#### 5. THE CLASSIC WRITINGS OF ANARCHISM

5:1 Bakunin.

By far the best collection of Bakunin's writings in English is Sam Dolgoff's "Bakunin on anarchy" (Vintage Books, 1972) which contains full translations of "The reaction in Germany", "Appeal to the slavs", "Revolutionary catechism", "General problems of the social revolution", "God and state", "The Paris Commune and the ideas of the state", "Statism and anarchy", amongst others.

While better known, G.P. Maximoff's "The political philosophy of Bakunin" (Free Press, 1964) is only a collection of extracts from Bakunin's works arranged loosely under subject headings.

Other recent publications of works by Bakunin are:

"The Paris Commune and the idea of the state" with annotations by Nicolas Walter (CIRA, 1971).

"A criticism of state socialism" (Coptic Press, 1971)



Organizational from below" is included in "Anarchy and Organization" (Friends of Malatesta, 1971) pp. 7-8.

"Science and the urgent revolutionary task" is in Horowitz "The Anarchists" (Dell Books, 1964) p. 121-133.

There is no adequate book length study of Bakunin's life and theory. E.H. Carr's book is marred by lack of insight and sympathy.

The same can be said of both well known works on Bakunin's theoretical contribution to anarchism. For the record, these are;

K. J. Kenafick: "Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx" (Melbourne, 1948).

Eugene Pyziur: "The doctrine of anarchism of Michael Bakunin" Marquette University Press, 1955).

Other shorter studies of some use are;

Paul Avrich: "The legacy of Bakunin" in Russian Review 29:129-142, April 1970.

G. D. H. Cole: "Bakunin" in "Socialist Thought" (Macmillan, 1961) pp. 213-236.

D. Hecht: "Bridled intransigence" in "Russian radicals look to America 1825-1894" (Harvard University Press 1968) pp. 41-71.

See also the introductions to G. P. Maximoff's "The political philosophy of Bakunin" (above).

## 5:2 Emma Goldman

Most of Emma's main writings have been reprinted. These are;

"Anarchism and other essays" (Dover Books 1969).

"Living my life" (Dover Books, 1970) 2 vols.

"My disillusionment in Russia" (Appollo 1970).

"Trotsky protests too much" (Libertaria Books 1971).

"The place of the individual in society" (Friends of Malatesta 1970)

An excellent collection of her pamphlets has been edited by Alix Kate Shulman as "Red Emma speaks" (Random House 1972). This includes some that were also published in "Anarchism and other essays" (see above) as well as many others still extremely relevant.

Emma Goldman's feminist writings are amongst the best of any period.



The best known life is Richard Drinnon's "Rebel in paradise" (University of Chicago Press 1961). A more recent study with more emphasis on Emma's feminism is Alix Kates Shulman's "To the barricades" (Crowell 1971).

For additional information see:

Terry Perlin: "Emma Goldman" in *Anarchy* 2(NS):28 March 1971.

Charles Madison: "Emma Goldman: anarchist rebel" in "Critics and crusaders" (Ungar 1959) pp. 214-237.

Richard Drinnon: "Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and the dream we hark back to..." in *Anarchy* 114:229-239 August 1970.

Alix Kates Shulman: "Emma Goldman: anarchist and feminist" in *Women* 1(3), Spring 1970.

Check also the bibliography in Drinnon's "Rebel in Paradise" (above).

### 5.3 Kropotkin

The collections of Kropotkin's shorter works so far published suffer from both poor selection and bad editing. Since they are all about equally bad they are all listed here:

Roger Baldwin (ed.): "Kropotkin's revolutionary pamphlets" (Dover Books 1971).

Martin Miller (ed.): "Selected writings on anarchism and revolution" (M.I.T. Press 1970)

Herbert Read (ed.): Kropotkin, selections from his writings" (Freedom Press 1942)

However Kropotkin's major works have all been reprinted:

"In Russian and French prisons" (Schocken Books 1971).

"Mutual aid" (Alan Lane Penguin Press 1972).

"Fields, factories and workshops" (Blom 1968).

"Memoirs of a revolutionist" (Dover Books 1971).

"The great French Revolution" (Schocken Books 1971).

"Ethics" (Blom 1968).

"The conquest of bread" (Alan Lane Penguin Press 1972)

Also a number of his pamphlets have received individual publication.

"An appeal to the young" (Spanish Democratic Centre 1971)

"Revolutionary Government" (Black Dog 1970)

"The Commune of Paris" in "The Paris Commune" (Freedom anarchist pamphlets No. 8).



The state; its historic role" (Freedom Press 1969)

"Modern science and anarchism"(Simian Press 1972)

The best introduction to Kropotkin's ideas is Camillo Berneri's "Peter Kropotkin; his federalist ideas" (Freedom Press 1943).

His status as a scientist from an anarchist point of view is given attention by George Woodcock in "The writer and politics" (Porcupine Press 1948) pp. 80-110.

His life has been written by George Woodcock and Ivan Avak-omovic as "The anarchist prince" (Schocken Books 1971)

Other material of value is:

Richard Drinnon: "Kropotkin, Marx and Dewey" in Anarchy 55:271-286, September 1965.

David Shub: "Kropotkin and Lenin" in Russian Review 12:227-234, October 1953.

#### 5:4 Errico Malatesta

Malatesta's contribution to anarchist literature is small but important. His main work is "Anarchy" (Friends of Malatesta 1970).

The best study of his thought is in Vernon Richards' "Malatesta; his life and ideas" (Freedom Press 1965). This book also contains a selection of his journalism translated from the Italian.

See also Philip Holgates "Discovering Malatesta" in Anarchy 50:105-109, April 1965.

#### 5:5 P. J. Proudhon

Proudhon's writings are no longer so important in forming anarchist thought, but because of his historical position in the movement his writings are still important. His principle effort was "What is property?" which was reprinted by Dover Books in 1970.

Stuart Edwards has edited a "selected writings of Pierre - Joseph Proudhon" (Anchor Books 1969). And, apart from an extract of "The general idea of the revolution in the Nineteenth Century" in M. S. Shatz' "Essential works of Anarchism" (Bantam 1971) pp. 83-122, this is about all of Proudhon's work that is available in English.

Works on Proudhon include:

M. Allen, "P. J. Proudhon in the revolution of 1848" in Journal of Modern History 24(1):1-14, 1952.

Henri Lubac, "The un-Marxian Socialist" (Shead & Ward 1948)



Alan Ritter: "The political thought of P.J. Proudhon" (Princeton University Press 1969).

George Woodcock: "Pierre-Joseph Proudhon" (Routledge 1956)

Georges Lichtheim: "Proudhon and the origins of Anarchism" in the origins of socialism" (Praeger 1959)

### 5:6 Leo Tolstoy

Tolstoy's christian anarchism represents a fairly insignificant branch of the anarchist movement. But his influence as a novelist has retained some importance for his anarchist views. A collection titled "Writings on civil disobedience and non-violence" was published by Signet in 1967. His writings on education are the subject of another collection.

"The law of violence and the law of love" is reprinted in J. Edies's "Russian Philosophy" (Quadrangle Books 1965) Vol. 2, pp. 213-234. An extract from "What then must we do?" is in I. Horowitz "The Anarchists" (Dell 1964) pp. 232-250. Another from the "Kingdom of God is within you" is in M.S. Shatz "Essential writings of anarchism" (Bantam 1971) pp. 231-265.

For an example of the use of Tolstoy's social ideas in his fiction read "Resurrection" (Penguin Classics, 1966).

An adequate study is "Tolstoy" by G.P. Noyes (Dover 1968). See also Henry Gifford (ed.): "Leo Tolstoy" Penguin 1971 for a collection of critical writings on all aspects of his work.





## 6. THE ANARCHIST CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

### 6:1 Education

Classic anarchist theory on education is contained in:

Leo Tolstoy: "Tolstoy on education" (University of Chicago Press 1967).

Francisco Ferrer: "The origins and ideals of the modern school" (Putman 1913); an extract is in Krimmerman & Perry (eds.) "Patterns of anarchy" (Anchor Books 1966) pp. 413-416.

Anarchist educational ideas have always been what is now still considered "progressive" education. For more recent developments on this theme see:

Paul Goodman: "Compulsory mis-education" (Vintage 1967)

" " "The present moment in education (R. A. M. 1971)

Colin Ward: "A modest proposal for the repeal of the education Act" in Anarchy 53:214-216, July 1965.

Anarchy editors: "The great brain robbery" (Moss Side Press 1971)

David Wills: "Throw away thy rod" (Gollancz 1960)

### 6:2 Personal Liberation

The following give an indication of the range and depth of anarchist thought in this area:

Bob Dickens: "The parts are all around us" (Friends of Malatesta 1971)

Bob Dickens: "Synthesis is the only possibility" (Friends of Malatesta 1971)

George Bennello: "Wasteland culture" in Anarchy 88:163-188, June 1968.

Alex Comfort: "The pattern of the future" (Routledge 1949)

" " "Sex in society" (Duckworth 1963)

" " "Authority and delinquency" (Sphere 1970)

Antony Fleming: "The machinery of conformity" (Friends of Malatesta 1970)

Murray Bookchin: "Towards a liberatory technology" in "Post-scarcity anarchism" (Ramparts Press 1971) pp. 85-139

John Hewetson: "Mutual aid and social evolution" in Anarchy 55:257-270 September 1965.



John Hewetson: "Sexual freedom for the young" (Freedom Press 1962)

Louise Crowley: "Womens liberation" in Anarchy 1(NS):9:21 February 1971.

Tony Gibson: "Anarchism and crime" in Anarchy 57:328-330 November 1965

Jock Young: "The zoo-keepers of deviancy" in Anarchy 98:101-108 April 1969

Martin Small: "Freud, anarchism and experiments in living" in Anarchy 20:300-319 October 1962

See also Anarchy No 113 July 1970 which is devoted to women in prison; and Anarchy 1(NS) February 1971 which is devoted to sexual liberation.

#### 6:3 Anarchism and creativity

This area has not been written up in any detail, but the following are a tentative beginning:

E.W. Herbert: "The artist and social reform" (Yale University Press 1961).

E.W. Herbert: "Artists and anarchism" in Anarchy 91:276-283 September 1968

Alan Lovell: "Anarchist cinema" (Peace News n.d.)

#### 6:4 Revolutionary environmentalism

Brian Richardson: "Freedom and environment" in Anarchy 117: 327-338 November 1970.

Murray Bookchin: "Ecology and revolutionary thought" in "Post-scarcity anarchism" (Ramparts Press 1971) pp. 55-82.

The above are examples of recent anarchist thinking on ecology. A good example of anarchist theory pre-dating current awareness is Erwin Gutkind's "The expanding environment" (Freedom Press 1953).

#### 6:5 Worker's Control

A collection of articles and extracts on workers' control is edited by K. Coates & T. Topham as "Workers' Control" (Panther 1970, but only a few items are relevant to anarchism.

Freedom press have issued a collection of articles titled "Towards workers' control" as Freedom anarchist pamphlets No. 7. Solidarity have an excellent pamphlet called "Workers' councils and the economics of a self-managed society"



See also:

Colin Ward: "Workers' control and the collective contract" in *Anarchy* 40:180-184. June 1964.

Colin Ward: "Industrial decentralization and workers' control" in *Anarchy* 10:309-310. December 1961.

Syndicalist Workers Federation: "Workers, control" (Direct Action pamphlets No. 4 n.d.)

Central Organization of Swedish Workers: "Syndicalism in modern society" (S.A.C. 1963).

## 7. THE HISTORICAL ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

### 7.1 Russia

The basic book on the Russian anarchist movement is Paul Avrich's "The Russian anarchists" originally published by Princeton University Press in 1967 and now in a paperback edition.

Other general writings of value are:

S. V. Utechin: "Regionalism, anarchism and syndicalism" in "Russian political thought" (Dent 1964) pp. 148-163.

Nicolas Walter: "Anarchism in Russia" in *Anarchy* 81:325-339 Nov., 1967

• G. P. Maximoff: "Syndicalists in the Russian revolution" (Direct Action Pamphlets No. 11, n.d.)

Thornton Anderson: "The anarchists" in "Russian political thought" (Cornell University Press, 1967) pp. 231-247.

On Makhno, see the relevant chapter in David Footman's "Civil war in Russia" (Faber, 1961) for a good introduction. For more detail see the new book by Victor Peters titled "Nestor Makhno: the life of an anarchist". See also:

M. S. Shatz: "The Makhnaevists and the Russian revolutionary movement" in *International Review of social History* 15:235-265, 1970

Voline: "The unknown revolution" (Freedom Press, 1955) an extract is in M. S. Shatz "The Kronstadt Commune" (Solidarity, 1967) See also:

Paul Avrich: "Kronstadt diary" in *Anarchy* 81:349-356, Nov., 1967

Victor Serge: "Kronstadt 1921" (Solidarity, n.d.)

The March, 1971 issue of *Anarchy* is devoted to Kronstadt.



## 7:2 United States

No adequate study of American anarchism has yet appeared. A rather simplistic introduction is Corinne Jucker's "The black flag of anarchy" (Scribner, 1968). More detailed, but still unsatisfactory studies are:

James J. Martin: "Men against the state" (Ralph Myles, 1970)

E. M. Schuster: "Native American anarchism" (Da Capo Press, 1970)

A rather unsympathetic account of anarchism and the labor movement is in Louis Adamic's "Dynamite" (Chelsea House, 1958).

For some American anarchists' views of their place in the American tradition see:

Voltairine de Cleyre: "Anarchism and American traditions" is reprinted in Laurence Veysey (ed) "Law and resistance" (Harper Torchbooks, 1970) pp. 138-158.

Rudolph Rocker: "Pioneers of American Freedom" (Rocker Publications Committee, 1949)

On the Haymarket affair the Chicago martyrs see:

Henry David: "The history of the Haymarket affair" (Collier, 1963)

P. S. Foner (ed.): "The autobiographies of the Haymarket martyrs" (Humanities Press, 1969)

Lucy Parsons (ed.): "Famous speeches of the eight Chicago anarchists" (Arno Press, 1970)

For the Sacco & Vanzetti case see:

H. B. Ehrman: "The case that will not die" (Little, Brown & Co., 1969)

Francis Russell: "Tragedy in Dedham" (McGraw-Hill, 1962)

David Felix: "Protest" (Indiana University Press, 1965)

M. D. Frankfurter (ed.): "The letters of Sacco & Vanzetti" (Octagon Books, 1971)

An excellent coverage of the legalities is Felix Frankfurter's "The case of Sacco & Vanzetti" (Grosset & Dunlap, 1962).



### 7:3 China

The best short study of Chinese anarchism is Albert Meltzer's "The origins of the anarchist movement in China" (Simian Press, 1971).

See also:

M. Bernal: "The triumph of anarchism over Marxism 1906 - 1907" in Mary C. Wright (ed.): "China in revolution" (Yale University Press, 1968) pp. 97-142.

"Chinese socialism before 1913" in J. Gray (ed.): "Modern China's search for a political form" (Oxford University Press, 1969) pp. 66-95.

R. A. Scalapino & George T. Yu: "The Chinese anarchist movement" (University of California Press, 1965)

Hyman Kaplan: "An Asian revolutionary" (Princeton University Press, 1964)

Olga Lang: "Pa Chin and his writings" (Harvard University Press, 1967).

### 7:4 France

There is no history of French anarchism in English. The following cover some areas of the historical movement:

Nicolas Walter: "The Paris Commune and the anarchist movement" in "The Paris Commune" (Freedom anarchist pamphlets No. 8)

F. F. Riley: "Revolutionary syndicalism in France" (Cambridge University Press, 1970)

David Stafford: "From anarchism to reformism: a study of the political activities of Paul Brousse ... 1870 - 1890" (University of Toronto Press, 1972)

There are some excellent studies of the terrorists of the 1890's  
Recommended are:

Ezra Brett Mell: "The truth about the Bonnot gang" (Solidarity Bookshop, 1969)

J. C. Longoni: "Four patients of Dr. Deibler" (Lawrence & Wishart, 1970)

Raynor Heppenstall: "A little pattern of French crime" (Hamilish Hamilton, 1969) pp. 13-32 & 111-122.

For commentary of the revolution of May, 1968 see:

Angelo Quattrucchi & Tom Nairn: "The beginning of the end" (Panther, 1968)



Solidarity have issued a pamphlet titled "Paris: May 1968" and the July, 1968 issue of Anarchy contains more analysis close to the event.

For some fascinating theoretical investigation into May, 1968 see Alfred Willener's "The action-image of society" (Tavistock, 1970)

## 7:5 Spain

Spanish anarchism is especially badly served by the available studies in English. The best books have still not been translated. Also, many of the histories (particularly those covering the civil war) are written from a biased position and significantly distort the truth. See Noam Chomsky's "Objectivity and liberal scholarship" in "American power and the new mandarins" (Penguin, 1971) pp. 62-129 for a well documented attack on one such book - Gabriel Jackson's "Spanish Republic and the civil war".

The best introduction to Spanish anarchism and the background to the civil war is still Gerald Brenan's "The Spanish Labyrinth" (Cambridge University Press, 1960) which was originally published in 1937. Although Brenan is admittedly not sympathetic to the anarchists he makes a quite successful effort to retain some accuracy and perspective. See especially pp. 131-202.

Also useful is Max Dashar's "Origins of the revolutionary movement in Spain" (Simian Press, 1971). Some useful data on the Spanish anarchist movement is given in:

C.E. Lida: "Agrarian socialism in Andalusia" in International Review of Social History 14:315-352, 1969.

J.R. Maura: "The Spanish Case" in Apter & Joll (eds.) "Anarchism Today" (Papermac, 1971) pp. 60-83.

See also issue No. 5 of Anarchy published in 1961.

Probably the only useful historical study of the civil war is P. Broue & E. Temime "The revolution and the civil war in Spain" (Faber, 1972). Still the best insight into the civil war is given by two first-hand accounts published at the time. These are:

George Orwell: "Homage to Catalonia" (Penguin, 1962)

Franz Borkenau: "The Spanish cockpit" (Ann Arbor, 1963) especially pp. 66-104 & 166-167, most of which is reprinted in M.S. Shatz: "The essential works of anarchism" (Bantam, 1971) pp. 487-514.

Also Burnett Bolloten's "The grand comoflage" (Praeger, 1961) contains much additional information. Other useful references are:



Jose Peira: "What is the C.N.T. ? " (Facts about Spanish resistance No. 2, n.d.)

Peter Newell: "Buenaventura Durruti" in "Makhno and Durruti" (Freedom anarchist pamphlets No. 1)

The aftermath and significance of the civil war are covered by:

Vernon Richards: "Lessons of the Spanish revolution" (Freedom Press, 1972)

E. J. Hobsbawm: "Francisco Sabate Llopart" in "Bandits" (Penguin, 1973) pp. 94-102 is informative but his analysis can be ignored

Miguel Garcia: "Franco's prisoner" (Hart-Davis, 1972)

## 7:6 Germany

Very little is available on German anarchism. The only detailed study is a book on Gustav Landauer by Charles B. Maurer titled "Call to revolution". Another article on Landauer by Colin Ward is in Anarchy 54:244-252, Aug., 1965. "J. T." also contributed an article on Erich Muhsam in the same issue pp. 255-256.

A couple of other items on more members of the German anarchists by Mike Jones are "Senna Hoy" in Anarchy 1 (NS): 32, Feb., 1971 and "Franz Pfemfert" in Anarchy 3(NS): 31-32, April, 1971.

A pamphlet by "I. R. M." called "Spartakism to National Bolshevism: the K. A. P. D. 1918-1924" (Solidarity, 1970) contains some information on the syndicalist influenced D. A. P. D.

## 7:7 Italy

Italy suffers from the same lack of information. The only detailed study available is confined to the late 19th century origins of the Italian socialist movement in which Bakunin and Italian anarchists and syndicalists played a large part. This is Richard Hostetter's "The Italian socialist movement" Vol. 1 (Van Nostrand, 1958). No further volumes have been published.

Contemporary developments are covered by:

"Italy 1969-1970" (Libertaria Books, 1971)

"The Italian state massacre" (Libertaria Books, 1972)

"Pinelli assassinato" (Solidarity Bookshop, 1972)



## 7:8 Britain

Even less is available on the anarchist tradition in Britain. Apart from scattered references in books on the British labor movement I don't know of anything which is worth mentioning.

For one view of the current movement see David Stafford's "Anarchists in Britain today" in Apter & Joll (eds.): "Anarchism today" (Papermac, 1971) pp. 84-104.

## 7:9 Latin America

No adequate study yet exists in English. However, the following are useful as far as they go:

Victor Alba: "The anarcho-syndicalist movement in Latin America" in "Politics and the labor movement in Latin America" (Standord University Press, 1968) pp. 37-59.

S. Simon: "Anarchism and anarcho-sydicalism in Latin America" in Hispano - American Historical Review 26: 38-59, Fall 1946.

Ian Mitchell: "The anarchist tradition in Latin America" in Anarchy 79:261-273, Sept., 1967

Eduardo Colombo: "Anarchism in Argentina and Uruguay" in Apter & Joll (eds.): "Anarchism today" (Papermac, 1971) pp. 181-211.

## 7:10 Japan

Two good brief studies are:

Osugi Sakae: "The anarchists" in T. Arima (ed.): "The failure of freedom" (Harvard University Press, 1969) pp. 51-69

Chushichi Tsuzuki: "Anarchism in Japan" In Apter & Joll (eds.) "Anarchism today" (Papermac, 1971) pp. 105-126.



## 7:11 India

See the following:

A.H. Doctoer: "Anarchist thought in India" (Asia Publishing House, 1964)

Geoffrey Ostergaard: "Indian anarchism" in Apter & Joll (eds.) "Anarchism today" (Papermac, 1971) pp. 145-163.

The August, 1964 issue of Anarchy was devoted to India.

More specialized studies on Gandhi's anarchism are:

Joan Bandurant: "Anarchist elements in Gandhian thought" in "The conquest of violence" (University of California Press, 1965) pp. 172-188.

Gene Sharp: "Gandhi on the theory of voluntary servitude" in Anarchy 14:120-128, April, 1962.

## 7:12 Australia

The following are all that is known to exist in print on the history of Australian anarchism:

G.N. Hawker: "Criticism right and left" in "The Parliament of N.S.W. 1856-1966" (Government Printer, 1971) Chap. xiv.

Kenneth Maddock: "Pluralism and anarchism" in Red & Black 2: 6-22, Winter 1966

Andrew Giles-Peters: "History of anarchism in Australia" in Black light 1:26-30, 1970

S. Merrifield: "The Melbourne Anarchist Club 1886-1891" in Labor History 3:32ff, 1972.

There are also some newspaper cuttings on "anarchists and anarchism" in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

## 8. THE MODERN ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

The development of a modern anarchist movement largely non-existent before the 1960's has aroused considerable comment. Much of this is valueless, but a selected list of references follows:

David Apter: "The old anarchism and the new" in Apter & Joll (eds.) "Anarchism today" (Papermac, 1971) pp. 1-13.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit: "Obsolete communism - the left wing alternative" (Penguin, 1969)

James Joll: "Anarchism - a living tradition" in Apter & Joll (eds.) "Anarchism today" (Papermac, 1971) pp. 212-225.



Michael Lerner: "Anarchism and the American counter-culture" in *ibid.* pp. 34-59.

Kingsley Widmer: "Anarchism and the revival" in *Nation* 211:501-503, Nov., 16, 1970.

D. Rosenthal: "Anarchism, past and future" in *Nation* 213: 439-440, Nov., 1971.

Murray Bookchin: "Post-scracity anarchism" (Ramparts Press, 1971).

"The youth culture" in "Hip culture" (Times Change Press, 1970) pp. 51-63.

## 9. MODERN ANARCHISM AS THEORY & PRAXIS

### 9:1 Situationism

Although the Situationist attack "anarchism" their own writings have a strong anarchist basis and their ideas have had a deep influence on modern anarchist theory. See:

Guy de Bord: "Society of the spectacle" (Black & Red, 1970)

Raoul Vaneigem: "The revolution of everyday life" (Situationist International, 1971) Pts 1 & 2.

"The totality for kids" (The London Group, 1970)

Situationist International: "Ten days that shook the university" (The London Group, 1970)

Bordeaux Situationists: "On student poverty" (Situationist International, 1969)

There is little worthwhile commentary on Situationism. See Alfred Willener's "The action-image of society" (Tavistock, 1970) generally; and also:

B. Marszalek: "The decline and fall of the spectacular commodity economy" (Solidarity Communications, 1967).





## 9:2 Provo

Another modern group that has had their own influence on modern anarchist ideas are the Provos. Their anarchism was always quite pronounced and open. Good examples are:

Rudolph de Jong: "Provos and Kabouters" in Apter & Joll (eds.) "Anarchism Today" (Papermac, 1971) pp. 164-180.

Roel van Duyn: "message of a wise Kabouter" (Duckworth, 1972)

Some provo manifestoes are reprinted in Stansill & Mairowitz (eds.) "BAMN" (Penguin, 1971) pp. 20-34. See also Roel van Duyn's "Proclamation of the Orange Free State" in M.S. Scutz: "Essential works of anarchism" (Bantam, 1971) pp. 571-574.

The Autumn, 1967 issue of the magazine Delta is devoted to the Provo movement.

## 10. ADDENDA

### 10:1 The conflict with Marxism

The historical conflict between anarchism and Marxism in the First International (I. W. M. A.) has been covered many times. Some additional information is in James Joll's "The Second International 1889-1914 (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1955) pp. 56-76.

For libertarian commentary on Marx see:

R. C. Tucker: "The anarchism of Marx" in "The Marxian revolutionary idea" (Allen & Unwin, 1970) pp. 85-91.

Morgan Gibson: "Marx for libertarians" in Anarchy 57: 341-343, Nov., 1965.

Murray Bookchin: "Listen, Marxist!" (Leeds Anarchist Group, 1972)

A libertarian critique of Marxism is provided by Paul Cardan, all of whose pamphlets have been printed by Solidarity, in England. Most of these have been reprinted by the Self-Management Groups in Brisbane & Melbourne. These are:

"The meaning of socialism"

"Modern capitalism and revolution"

"The fate of Marxism"

"History and revolution"

"Socialism or barbarism?"

Andrew Giles-Peters also has an interesting article on Karl Korsch: "A Marxist friend of anarchism" in Red & Black 5: 12-16, April, 1973.



## 10:2 Individualist anarchism

Now well out of the mainstream of the anarchist movement, individualist anarchism is covered briefly by the following:

S.E. Parker: "Individualist anarchism" (S.E. Parker, 1965)

Charles Madison: "Benjamin R. Tucker" in "Critics and crusaders" (Ungar, 1959) pp. 194-213

Harold Barclay: "Josiah Warren" in *Anarchy* 85:90-96, March. 1968

Richard Drinnon: "Thoreau's politics of the upright man" in *Walden & civil disobedience* (Norton, 1966) pp. 410 -422.

Yehoshua Arieli: "Utopian individualism" in *Individualism and nationalism in American ideology* (Penguin, 1966) pp. 273-292.

R.W.K. Paterson: "The nihilistic egoist" (Oxford University Press, 1971) especially pp. 126-144.

Most writings by the great individualist anarchist are long out of print. A couple of good examples currently available are:

Lysander Spooner: "No Treason" (Pine tree publications, 1971)

Max Stirner: "The false principle of our education" (Ralph Myles, 1967).

## 11. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

This bibliography has drawn on all available bibliographical references and the most important of these are listed below. It has had to be necessarily selective however, so if you want more detail many works not mentioned here can be traced in them. This applies particularly to out of print, obscure and foreign language publications. The most helpful are:

Max Nettlau: "Bibliographie de l'anarchie" (Bert Franklin, 1968)

Nicolas Walter: "Anarchism in print" in Apter & Joll (eds.) "Anarchism today" (Papermac, 1971) pp. 127-144.

Much less useful, but interesting are:

Josef Stammhammer: "Bibliographie des sozialismus und kommunismus" (Zeller, 1963-1964) 3 vols.

W. Goldwater: "Radical periodicals in America 1890-1950" (Yale University Library, 1964).

Frederick Adams: "Radical literature in America" (Stanford University Press, 1939).



AN' WHEN YER SMASHIN' TH'  
STATE, KIDS... DON'T FERGIT  
T' KEEP A SMILE ON YER LIPS  
AN' A SONG IN YER HEART!









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